

Message Text

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

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AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH

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DEPT PASS ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OCON, PFOR, XA, TZ

SUBJECT: SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONFERENCE CLOSES IN TANZANIA

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2026

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1. SUMMARY. SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS (SPAC) ENDED JUNE 27
WITH FLURRY OF DECLARATIONS CONDEMNING IMPERIALISM AND
CAPITALISM, PRAISING SOCIALISM, URGING LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA, CALLING FOR ABOLITION OF UN VETO, RECOMMENDING CREATION
OF UNION OF RAW MATERIAL PRODUCERS, ETC. DESPARATE DELEGATIONS

SAW DIFFERENT ROLES FOR SPAC. IN ADDITION, SPAC ESTABLISHED NO MACHINERY TO IMPLEMENT THOSE PROPOSALS IT DID AGREE ON. PERHAPS GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE OF CONGRESS IS THAT SOME OF VIEWS EXPRESSED HERE FORETELL CAMPAIGNS THAT MAY BE LAUNCHED IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA. END SUMMARY.

2. DELEGATIONS: SPAC ENDED JUNE 27. OFFICIAL ROSTER SHOWED 46 DELEGATIONS IN ATTENDANCE ALTHOUGH SEVERAL OTHER GROUPS ARRIVED LATER IN SESSION. REPRESENTATIVES CAME FROM SUCH DESPARATE QUARTERS AS NEW HEBRIDES NATIONALIST PARTY, PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, GAMBIA AND GRENADA. EXCEPT THAT THEY ALL HAVE SOME CLAIM TO AFRICAN EXTRACTION, DELEGATIONS REPRESENTED COUNTRIES OR ORGANIZATTIONS WITH RELATIVELY LITTLE IN COMMON.

3. KEY SPEECHES: TWO KEY SPEECHES DURING CONGRESS WERE GIVEN BY PRESIDENTS NYERERE OF TANZAINA (REFTEL) AND TOURE OF GUINEA. CONGRESS ADOPTED BOTH SPEECHES AS BASIC WORKING DOCUMENTS. TOURE, WHOSE SPEECH WAS TAPED IN CONAKRY AND PLAYED BEFORE CONGRESS, CALLED ON DELEGATES TO WORK TOWARDS FIXING OF PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS IN ORDER TO END EXPLOITATION OF LDCS. HE WARNED THAT PAN AFRICANISM RUNS RISK OF ENGULFING ITSELF IN RACISM WHILE PROFESSING TO BE ANTI-RACIST. TOURE SAID "WE MUST FIGHT THIS TENDENCY, THE MOST HARMFUL, MOST ALIENATING FORM OF WHICH IS INDISPUTABLY WHAT IS CALLED NEGRITUDE." HE CALLED NEGRITUDE LITERARY FORM OF SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE RESERVES. TOURE HAILED CASTRO AND ALLENDE, NOTING THEY ARE "CLOSER TO EXPLOITED BLACKS THAN CERTAIN AFRO-AMERICAN OR AFRICAN 'LEADERS'" HE CONCLUDED WITH CALL FOR INTENSIFICATION OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

4. CONGRESS ORGANIZATION: CONGRESS ESTABLISHED SET OF RULES AND THAN ORGANIZED INTO THREE COMMITTEES : (A) POLITICAL COMMITTEE-CHAIRMAN GUINEA, VICE CHAIRMAN FRELIMO, RAPPORTEUR NORTH AMERICA; (B) ECONOMIC COMMITTEE-CHAIRMAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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EGYPT, VICE CHAIRMAN ZAIRE, AND RAPPORTEUR JAMAICA; AND (C) SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION AND CULTURE COMMITTEE--CHAIRMAN TANZANIA, VICE CHAIRMAN NORTH AMERICA, AND RAPPORTEUR CONGO. STEERING COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESS REMAINED UNDER THUMB OF TANZANIA.

5. THEMES OF SPEECHES: FOLLOWING WERE MOST FREQUENT THEMES AT CONGRESS: GLORIFICATION OF HISTORY OF PAN AFRICANISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ROLE OF W.E.B. DUBOIS, GEORGE PADMORE, AND KWAME NKURUMAH; VIRTUES OF PAN AFRICANISM; PAN AFRICANISM AND CULTURAL IDENTIFY; ANTI-IMPERIALISM; ANTI-CAPITALISM; LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA; NEED FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MORE SOCIALIST SOCIETIES; AND ROLE OF

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN AFRICA. NUMBER OF SPEAKERS BORROWED HEAVILY FROM MARXIST-LENINIST DOGMA; PARTICULARLY NOTABLE IN THIS REGARD WERE DELEGATIONS FROM ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION AND PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA, BOTH OF WHICH RECEIVE PRC BACKING.

6. ZAIRE SPEECH: ONE OF MORE NOTABLE ADDRESSES WAS PRESENTED BEFORE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE BY MUYEMBE KANZA, MEMBER OF RULING PARTY POLITICAL BUREAU AND HEAD OF ZAIRE DELEGATION. HE RECOMMENDED THAT CONGRESS FIGHT TO ABOLISH UN VETO FOR MAJOR POWERS. HE ADDED: "AFTER UN CHARTER HAS BEEN REVIEWED, PROBLEM OF OTHER ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BE EFFECTIVELY TACKLED. MEANWHILE WE CAN START TO PREPARE RIGHT AWAY GUIDELINES WE SHOULD FOLLOW IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, ESPECIALLY IMF AND WORLD BANK". HE ARGUED THAT MOST OF COUNTRIES PRESENT AT SPAC HAD NO HAND IN CREATION OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND CALLED FOR "DEMOCRATISATION" OF THESE AGENCIES BY ESTABLISHING NEW STRUCTURES. HE ALSO RECOMMENDED "UNCONDITIONAL DISSOLUTION" OF GATT. FINALLY, KANZA CALLED FOR ASSOCIATION OF PRODUCERS OF RAW MATERIALS WHICH WOULD, AMONG OTHER THINGS, SERVE TO FIX PRICES.

7. KENYA SPEECH: ADDRESS BY ROBERT MATANO, MINISTER FOR INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND HEAD OF KENYAN DELEGATION, WAS NOTABLE FOR SERIOUS PROPOSALS TO STEP UP LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE WARNED THAT INDEPENDENCE FOR PORTUGUESE AFRICA IS NOT JUST AROUND CORNER. SINCE NOTHER LESS THAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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TOTAL INDEPENDENCE IS ACCEPTABLE, AFRICANS MUST NOW INCREASE ARMED STRUGGLE. TO THIS END, HE RECOMMENDED FOLLOWING STEPS (A) GOVERNMENTS IN ARREARS TO AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE SHOULD PAY UP; (B) PERSONS OF AFRICAN EXTRACTION OUTSIDE AFRICA SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO LIBERATION FUND. HE PROPOSED PERMANENT SECRETARIAT IN NORTH AMERICA FOR THIS PURPOSE; (C) AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD INCREASE PRESSURE AGAINST RHODESIAN SANCTIONS-BUSTERS SUCH AS JAPAN, FRANCE, UK, AND US; AND (D) AFRICANS SHOULD PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF PORTUGAL, SOUTH AFRICA, AND RHODESIA.

8. NORTH AMERICAN DELEGATION: NORTH AMERICAN GROUP, WHICH INCLUDED US AND CANADA, WAS LARGEST (216). EACH DELEGATION HAD, HOWEVER, EQUAL VOTING RIGHTS. VARIETY AMONG AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS WAS ALMOST AS GREAT AS BETWEEN DELEGATIONS. SPEECHES BY AMERICANS RANGED FROM MODERATE, PRAGMATIC COMMENTS BY NEVILLE PARKER ON USE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN AFRICA TO RANTINGS OF OWUSU SADUKAI, CHAIRMAN OF AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE. NOT SURPRISINGLY, SADAUKAI GRABBED HEADLINES BY CALLING "FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN

REPLACING CAPITALIST SOCIETY WITH A JUST SOCIALIST SYSTEM." HE COMMENTED THAT FORMS OF OPPRESSION USED AGAINST AFRO-AMERICANS BY USG ARE NOT DIFFERENT FROM THOSE METED OUT TO INVADDED AFRICAN STATES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. REV. H. BROOKINS, US AFRICAN METHODIST CHURCH BISHOP, SUGGESTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES PRODUCE THEIR OWN MANUFACTURED GOODS WHICH THEY COULD THEN SELL TO AMERICAN BLACK COMMUNITY. US DELEGATE IMAMU BARAKA, REPRESENTING CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLES, SAID: PAN AFRICANISM IS MEANINGLESS WITHOUT IT BEING CONCEIVED AS SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AS WELL AS MEANS OF HEIGHTENING STRUGGLE FOR WORLD SOCIALISM."

9. MAIN POINTS OF CONTENTION: (A) MAJOR ROW DEVELOPED EARLY IN SESSION OVER RULES OF PROCEDURE. LED BY ZAMBIA, SWAZILAND, AND SIERRA LEONE, 19 DELEGATIONS VOTED IN FAVOR OF RULES TO GOVERN PROCEEDINGS WHILE 5 VOTED AGAINST-- GHANA, SOMALIA, CONGO, ALGERIA, AND NORTH AMERICA. REMA NING DELEGATIONS DID NOT VOTE. (B) GUINEA AND ALGERIA PROPOSED THAT SPEECHES BY NYERERE AND TOURE BE USED AS GUIDING DOCUMENTS FOR CONGRESS. SENEGALESE DELEGATION, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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WHICH WAS LED BY MINISTER FOR CULTURE ALIOUNE SENE, VICIFEROUSLY DENOUNCED TOURE SPEECH IN VIEW OF HIS STRONG CONDEMNATION OF NEGRITUDE. GUINEA-ALGERIA MOTION CARRIED. (C) MANY DELEGATES REQUESTED DEFINITION OF PAN AFRICANISM, ARGUING TOO MANY YEARS HAVE PASSED WITHOUT A DEFINITION. GHANAIAAN DELEGATE JOE APPIAH, ONE OF ONLY TWO DELEGATES TO ATTEND FIFTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS IN MANCHESTER, SAID NEED FOR DEFINITION IS SHOCKING SINCE "MOVEMENT HAS BECOME INSTITUTIONALIZED IN OUR DAILY LIFE." DEFINITION, OF SORTS, WAS INCLUDED IN FINAL GENERAL DECLARATION.

10. FINAL DECLARATIONS: ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN TEXT OF ALL FINAL DECLARATIONS, FOLLOWING RECOMMENTATIONS WERE AMONG THOSE PASSED: (A) END FOREIGN DOMINATION IN AFRICA BY DESTROYING LAST COLONIAL AND RASCIST REGIMES;

(B) END NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA; (C) LIQUIDATE FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN AFRICA; (D) STRATEGY OF REVOLUTIONARY PAN AFRICANISM OS BASICALLY BATTLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, AND CAPITALISM; (E) IN 1974 PAN AFRICANISM REQUIRES EMERGENCE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETIES; (F) LONG DECLARATION ON LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA APPEALED TO AFRICAN STATES TO WITHHOLD RECOGNITION OF PORTUGAL UNTIL THAT GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES UNEQUIVOCALLY RIGHT OF FULL INDEPENDENCE FOR PEOPLE IN AFRICAN COLONIES. ALSO ASKED PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN FROM NATO COUNTRIES TO MOBILIZE PUBLIS OPINION IN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AGAINST GOVERNMENT ACTIONS WHICH PERPETUATE DOMINATION OF PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA; (G) DENOUNCED MULTI-NATIONAL COROPRATIONS;

(H) CALLED ON PRODUCERS OF RAW MATERIALS TO CREATE ORGANIZATION FOR INCREASING ECONOMIC POWER OVER THEIR RESOURCESV AND (I) RECOMMENDED UN CHARTER BE REVIEWED WITH INTENTION OF ABOLISHING VETO FOR MAJOR POWERS.

11. COMMENT: SPAC, WHICH CONSISTED OF SUCH DESPARATE ELEMENTS, IS BOUND TO MEAN DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE. ALTHOUGH SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS WER PUT FORTH, RHETORIC PREVAILED IN SOME CASES, DELEGATIONS REPRESENTED AND SPOKE FOR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. OTHERS DID NOT. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, SPAC IS NOT IN POSITION TO IMPLEMENT DECLARATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONSM PERHAPS MOST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF SPAC IS EFFORT MADE TO CHANGE WORLD OF STATUS QUO, I.E. WORLD WHICH IS STILL BASICALLY DEPENDENT UPON ACTIONS OF MAJOR POWERS AND PARTICULARLY WESTERN POWERS. THUS ONE HEARS VOICES TO TERMINATE VETO IN UN, CREATE UNIONOF RAW MATERIAL SUPPLIERS, END CAPITALIST SYSTEMS, ABOLISH IMF, ETC. WHILE THESE EXPRESSIONS ARE ONLY RADICAL RHETORIC IN SPAC FORUM AT THIS TIME, WE SUGGEST IT MAY PRESAGE MORE SERIOUS EFFORTS IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA TO GIVE GREATER REALITY TO THESE DECLARATIONS WHICH ARE FUNDAMENTALLY CONTRARY TO US INTERESTSM INDICATIONS IN THIS REGARD, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE ACTIVITIES BY RUSSIANS, AND PARTICULARLY CHINESE, TO COURT DELEGATES IN CORRIDORS OF CONFERENCE.
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